THE USE AND SOCIAL MEANING OF THE VARIANT [ðˤ] AMONG YOUNG WOMEN IN BAQAA: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF ARABIC IN A PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMP IN JORDAN

by

Manar Jihad Al-Shatarat

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The thesis of Manar Jihad Al-Shatarat

has been approved by the following supervisory committee members:

Johanna Watzinger-Tharp	, Chair	8 December 2012 Date Approved
Marianna Di Paolo	, Member	8 December 2012 Date Approved
Jane Frances Hacking	, Member	8 December 2012 Date Approved

and by Katharina Gerstenberger , Chair of

the Department of Languages and Literature

and by David B. Kieda, Dean of The Graduate School.

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates Palestinian Arabic as spoken by female speakers in Baqaa camp a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan. It focuses on the use of the variable ($d^{ʕ}$) in the speech of young women in Baqaa camp in addition to exploring the social meaning/s the variant carries for those young women. It also describes the sociolinguistic situation of young women in the camp through examining the social factors that contributed to the preservation of the local variant.

The present study is based on the speech of six female speakers between the ages 20 to 28 from the Baqaa camp. The participants are all of Fallahii origin and have lived in the camp since birth.

Structured interviews were used to elicit the realizations of the variable ($d^{ʕ}$), and to identify extralinguistic factors that might affect the use of the variant in question. The interview comprised three parts: personal information, discussion of appropriate cultural topics, and a linguistic attitudes questionnaire. In addition to the structured interview, participant observations were utilized in order to provide insights into the social context of the studied variant.

Linguistic variation was investigated following the third wave of variation that was proposed by Penelope Eckert. The third wave adopted the Community of Practice framework that is employed in the present study to explain the preservation of the [$ðˤ$] variant. The examination of the data reveals that linguistic variation was systematic. The

participants consistently used the local variant [ðˤ] in their speech. Although they showed positive attitudes toward the urban variety, they deliberately localized their speech to project their linguistic style that was constructed by the shared social practices they were engaged with in the community of the camp.

Finally, it was found in the present study that the participants did not yield to social pressure and expectations. They used their linguistic style as an instrument to reject stigma that is associated with their "Fallahii" (rural) variety.

To All Palestinians In Palestine and Diaspora,

To My Parents, And My Husband

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide information about the sociolinguistic study of Palestinian Arabic spoken by young women in the Baqaa refugee camp in Jordan. It will include a description of the rationale for the study as well as information about the site and the residents of the camp under investigation.

1.1. Problem and Rationale for the Study

For many years, urban centers have been the focus of sociolinguists' studies in the Arab World. Several studies have explored linguistic variation among individuals and groups in established urban centers, such as Jerusalem (Blanc, 1960), Cairo (Haeri, 1994, 2003), and Damascus (Daher, 1998). In Jordan, large cities such as Amman and Irbid have received a great deal of attention from sociolinguists who have been interested in Jordanian Arabic. Several studies (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Al-Khatib, 1988; Al-Wer, 2007; El Salman, 2003) have explored the linguistic situation of spoken Jordanian Arabic among Jordanians of both Jordanian and Palestinian origin. Those studies asserted that urban Palestinian Arabic has strongly influenced the formation of the new dialects in Jordan as a result of the dialect contact between Jordanians and Palestinians.

Although Palestinian Arabic has played a role in the formation of the new dialect of Amman since the 1948 and 1967 wars, no study has to the best of my knowledge

investigated Palestinian Arabic as spoken by Palestinians specifically in the newly emerged communities of Palestinian camps in Jordan. According to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) report in 2013, Jordan is home to over 2 million registered Palestinian refugees and many more who have been placed in 10 refugee camps in the country. Many of these Palestinian camps have remained to a large extent linguistically and socially isolated from the surrounding areas. This has the effect of preserving their social and linguistic norms (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Alzoubi, 2007)

This study will describe the linguistic behavior of a group of young Palestinian women in the Baqaa camp. The primary aim of the present study is to examine the use of the [ðˤ] variant in contrast with the [dˤ] variant of the (dˤ) variable and the social meaning/s the variable carries for the female speakers. The choice of the variable (dˤ) for the present study was based on three factors: first, the lack of sociolinguistic studies that investigated the (dˤ) variable in general and in the Palestinians' speech in the camps specifically; second, the notable use of the variant [ðˤ] by men, but not by women in the media; and third, the personal interactions between the author and the investigated community during which the author noticed that both men and women use the variant [ðˤ] of the (dˤ) variable. Arabic Sociolinguistic studies that were conducted in Jordan provided evidence that women preferred the [dˤ] variant over their native variant [ðˤ] (Abudalbah, 2010; Al-Khatib, 1988).

I selected this particular group of speakers for three reasons: first, the speakers live in a well-defined community, which is characterized by being socially, politically, and economically uniform. Second, the social and cultural isolation of the camp has led to the preservation of the old norms, both social and cultural, and thus, the camp dwellers

constitute a distinctive group. Finally, based on my own observations and personal interaction with members of the studied community, the women's linguistic behavior in the camp seemed to be quite different from women who live in Amman.

The camp community is what Milroy (1992) calls a close-knit community, where the population is dense and engaged in multiple social ties. In addition the distinctive shared identity of the camp population is unified by hardship and poverty. The community members of the Baqaa camp share experiences, stories, and a social understanding of themselves and others that enable them to constitute their own linguistic style. Concepts of alliances and allegiances that determine how the individuals situate themselves in a community, especially in one such as that of Baqaa camp, and how these concepts construct the speakers' identity (Eckert 2003) will give us a more thorough understanding of the language situation among women in the described community.

1.2. The Study Site: Baqaa Camp

Baqaa camp is the largest camp among the 10 camps that were established in Jordan for the purpose of hosting Palestinians after they were displaced by force from their villages and cities in Palestine during both the 1948 and the 1967 Wars. Baqaa Camp lies on 1.4 km^2 20 km north of Amman on a freeway that links Amman with the northern cities of Jordan. The camp was established in 1968 to host Palestinian refugees who arrived in Jordan after the 1967 War (Gilen, Hovdenak, Maktabi, Pedersen, & Tuastad,1994).

The camp is home to approximately 104,000 Palestinian refuges registered in the UNRWA's records as of 2010. The majority of camp dwellers are members of clans from rural areas around Hebron, Gaza, Beersheba, Jaffa, Tulkarm, and Ramla. Based on the

baseline survey implemented by HUDC in 2000, 55% of the whole population of the camp is comprised of youth (Tawil, 2006). The camp dwellers are largely from the lower or lower-middle socioeconomic stratas. The camp receives aid and services from the UNRWA and some governmental funds to support the economic situation of the refugees, who are considered poor in comparison to those who live outside the camp (Gilen, Hovdenak, Maktabi, Pedersen, & Tuastad, 1994).

Although the residents of the Palestinian camp have lived in the Baqaa camp for almost 4 generations now, many still think that their residence here is temporary even though they, just like other Palestinians in Jordan, enjoy equal rights with indigenous Jordanians and are considered Jordanian citizens (Tawil, 2006). The camp dwellers still perceive themselves as Palestinians and as having the right to return to their occupied home, Palestine. This perception has contributed to shaping the political and social identity of the camp community.

Based on the researcher's observations and the participants' self-reporting in the present study, Palestinians who live in these camps consider themselves to be different politically, socially, and economically from Palestinians who live outside of the camps. Interestingly, this differentiation is beginning to affect inter-Palestinian relations. The Palestinian-Palestinian distinction is particularly prominent with Palestinians living in Amman, who have blended with indigenous Jordanians and formed a new identity as Ammanis (Al-Wer, 2007). On the other hand, Palestinians in the camps still perceive themselves as a truer representation of the Palestinian cause than Palestinians who have left or never lived in the camps, as the participants reported in this study. The patriotic feeling intensifies the sense of loyalty that tightens the relationships between the camp

dwellers who came from different areas in Palestine as mentioned above.

The loyalty of the people for their cause manifests itself in their language. The camp dwellers consider the language they use to be a carrier of their culture and traditions, as will be fully presented in Chapter 4. In order to preserve the link that keeps them connected to their villages as well as to their cultural legacy, the majority of camp residents still speak rural and Bedouin Palestinian Arabic.

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 presents a review of the sociolinguistic studies that motivated this study; Chapter 3 discusses the methodology of this study. In Chapter 4, I present the quantitative and qualitative results of the study. Finally, in Chapter 5, I discuss the results in light of the Community of Practice framework, and I present the conclusion and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the sociolinguistic foundations established most prominently by Labov as well as studies that investigated variation in the Arab World in general and in Jordan in particular. Based on a review of relevant studies, I adopted the Three Waves of Variation (Eckert, 2012) framework as the theoretical foundation of the present study. The third wave is of the author's interest as it present the concept of Community of Practice that I employed in my project to explain the use of the variant [$ðˤ$] of variable ($dˤ$) in the Baqaa camp community.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 2.2 briefly discusses the discipline of sociolinguistics, followed by section 2.3, which reviews the first wave of variation studies, defined by Eckert as studies "that established broad correlations between linguistic variables and the macrosociological categories of socioeconomic class, sex, class, ethnicity, and age" (Eckert, 2012, p. 87). Section 2.4 discusses the second wave studies, which is the ethnographic era where methods were employed "to explore the local categories and configurations that inhabit, or constitute, these broader categories" (Eckert, 2012, p. 87). And section 2.5 is devoted to the third wave of variation studies, which emphasizes the "stylistic practice" (Eckert, 2012). The third wave of variation places "[s]peakers not as passive and stable carriers of dialect, but as stylistic agents,

tailoring linguistic styles in ongoing and lifelong projects of self-construction and differentiation" (Eckert, 2012, pp. 97–98). In section 2.6 I present a concise background of the (d^{ε}) variable. Finally, in section 2.7, I present the motivation for the present study in addition to the research questions and hypotheses.

2.2. Sociolinguistics

The questions concerning how and why speakers use one variety over the other, and/or use different forms within a particular variety, is the core of any sociolinguistic study (Meyerhoff, 2006). Sociolinguistics is mainly concerned with the study of language in its social contexts. Sociolinguistics embraces questions regarding how people speak and why, how people use language differently as well as where, and how and why people use language to reflect social identities or entities. Questions about language are often accompanied by questions about the social structure of any speech community. Sociolinguists are not interested only in the structure of language, but are also focused on exploring factors that induce variation in speech communities (Meyerhoff, 2006).

As to answering the "how" and the "why" questions, which are often related to social factors, sociolinguists have embarked on developing new methodologies based on what has been learned about the social structure of the speech community. With the innovative methodology Labov established in his Martha's Vineyard (1961) and New York City (1966) studies (SSENYC, henceforth), a new perspective emerged in the study of language variation.

Sociolinguistic studies examining variation since the 1960s have employed different methods to elicit and to analyze data. Eckert (2012) proposes a three-part framework to organize the history of variation studies. She proclaims that variation

studies can be described as three waves where each one dealt with social meaning in variation studies differently. In the sections that follow, I will discuss each of these three waves in detail. The analytical practice of social meaning in sociolinguistics variation came in three waves. The waves are not historically ordered, and no wave supplants the previous one. Rather, each wave views variation differently and represents various methodologies (Eckert, 2012, p. 87).

2.3. First Wave of Variation: Large Survey

The first wave of variation constructed the correlation between the use of nonstandard forms with socioeconomic hierarchy (Eckert, 2012, p. 88). Sociolinguists in the first wave focused on macrosociological categories to examine variation in large-scale social systems. By so doing, the variation studies focused on the predetermined categories that explain variation in any speech community and used these categories to explain the social meaning in the studied communities.

The first wave of variation started with Labov (1966) when he carried out his study on the social stratification of English in NYC. His study was duplicated in other urban cities by sociolinguists in the late 1960s and 1970s (e.g., Macaulay, 1977; Trudgil, 1974; Wolfram, 1969).

One of the variables Labov studied was (r). Labov found that r-less and r-full correlates with social class and that speakers were aware of the social meaning of variable (r). Although NYC is known as an r-less speech community, some speakers described in their evaluations that pronouncing the postvocalic (r) is better or nicer (Milroy, 1980). The use of the r-full pronunciation introduces a social factor that plays a role in people's attitudes toward some linguistics features in their communities. In NYC,

r-full is perceived as prestigious because it was associated with the high status of the r-full users. Thus, speakers who are aware of the social meaning of the r-full orient themselves to the prestigious variant that projects their desire to sound like high status people in their community. On the other hand, the r-less speakers preserve it as a reflection of group affiliation or to project that they belong to a certain social class.

Sociolinguistic studies in the US and Great Britain during the 1960s and 1970s (Labov, 1963, 1966; Macaulay, 1977; Trudgill, 1974) established the foundation of sociolinguistics studies in the Arab world, and particularly their methodology, but the interest in studying variation of Arabic began with Ferguson's (1959) article "Diglossia." This article was the beginning of linguistic studies of classical/ Standard Arabic (SA) in relation to spoken Arabic (Al-Khatib, 1988) and inspired linguists such as Al Toma (1969), Badawi (1973), and Palva (1965).

By and large, sociolinguists who conduct studies in the Arab world are interested in salient phonological variables such as (q), (k), (dʒ), (θ), (ð), ($d^ʕ$), and ($ð^ʕ$) in addition to broad patterns of variation across large communities. Following Labov's paradigm, Schmidt (1974), which is also a first-wave kind of study, conducted quantitative research in the Arab World for the first time. Schmidt conducted a study of the variable (q) in Egypt. The variant [q] of the variable (q) is considered standard pronunciation in a more formal register in most of the Arab World because it is part of Classical Arabic pronunciation that is found in the Qur`an. Also, the pronunciation of this variable has been found to reflect the education level of the speaker and the degree of the formality of the situation in which it is used (Al-Khatib, 1988).

Schmidt found that his participants were consistent in their use of the prestigious

Standard Arabic (SA) variant [q] when they read from printed material, while they did not use it in informal interviews. In addition, male participants used the standard feature more than female participants. Schmidt interviewed 16 students, equally distributed by sex, from the American University in Cairo, and 12 male subjects from a humble neighboring area. He concluded that the (q) variable correlates with formality of the situation and gender. Men were found to be innovative; that is, they used more Standard Arabic than women. Women, on the other hand, favored colloquial variants. Schmidt's findings were the foundation for other linguists in the Arab World who were interested in studying spoken Arabic in terms of its social context (Al-Khatib, 1988).

Building on the findings of Schmidt's study, Abdel-Jawad (1981) focused on the use of spoken Arabic in the Jordanian context and social correlates. Abdel-Jawad's study was concerned with the lexical and phonological variation in Spoken Arabic in Jordan. In his study he found that origin, residential areas, sex, age, education, and occupation are significant and affect the speaker's choice of the variant he/she uses.

Abdel-Jawad studied two phonological variables: (q), and its realizations [q], [ʔ], or [g] and (k), realized as [tʃ] in the speech of Bedouin and Fellahin (ruralites) who moved to live in Amman. Following the Labovian paradigm, Abdel-Jawad conducted individual and group interviews with 165 male and female participants of different social status, origins, and occupations from the city of Amman. The interviews elicited four speech styles ranging from public (unscripted public speeches) to formal, informal, and casual. He pointed out that it is improbable that all the (q) variants will change into the standard variant [q] or any local variant due to social factors, for instance the speaker's sex, origin, or level of education. Abdel-Jawad found that the prestigious variant [q] was

used more in the speech of men in comparison to women.

Abdel-Jawad's study had concluded that there were two divergent linguistic patterns in women's speech. One is the absence of standardization, that is "the adoption of the standard forms whether lexical, phonological, or grammatical" (p. 375), especially among uneducated Fellahin and Bedouin women who do not have a social network outside of their families or neighborhood owing to abundant cultural and social reasons, such as the role women play in the Arab World. The other pattern is the favoring of urbanization (the adaptation of urban or city variants) among educated women and those who have wide social networks outside of their families and neighborhood.

In his study, educated women and uneducated women (who had a lot of social contacts outside the neighborhood) showed a tendency to favor urban linguistic variants, specifically the variant [ʔ], which reflects modernity and softness (Al-Wer, 2007; El Salman, 2005). This group of women was aware of the social meaning that the investigated variables carry in Amman. They tried to avoid stigmatization by abandoning the [g] variant for (q) and adopted the urban variant [ʔ]. They also used the variant [k] for (k) instead of the [tʃ] variant because the abandoned variants were rural and less prestigious in the "new" city of Amman. However, men were found using the standard variants [q] for the variable (q) and [k] for the variable (k) to a great extent.

Ultimately, Abdel-Jawad's study showed that in Amman there is a tendency amongst men to use the standard [q] to reinforce their social role in the community and their level of education. In addition to the standardization, the study revealed that men tended to adopt the Bedouin variant [g] regardless of their origin.

In another examination of linguistic behavior in an established urban center,

Daher (1998) studied male and female speech in Damascus. His study revealed that a younger generation, particularly female speakers, are more likely to use Damascene Arabic rather than Standard Arabic. He interviewed a total of 46 participants, 23 men and 23 women, of different ages and education levels, collecting the data from unstructured taped interviews. Daher identified two prestige varieties: Damascene Arabic (urban) and Standard Arabic. The urban variety is considered "feminine" (Abdel-Jawad, 1980; Al-Wer, 2007) and attracts women (educated and uneducated) in contrast to Standard Arabic, which attracts men, mostly educated and over 30.

With respect to the variable (q), Daher explained that young women, and specifically educated women, displayed a high tendency to use the urban variety represented by the Damascene Arabic variant [ʔ] of the variable (q). In his study, women chose the variants that reflects modernization, urbanization, and prestige. In contrast, the variant [q] was perceived as a masculine variant, at least among people in Damascus. It was also stigmatized as a rural variant that is associated with low social class.

Together, Labov's SSENYC study (1966), Schmidt (1974), Abdel-Jawad (1981), and Daher (1998) showed the necessity of exploring linguistic features and the correlation with the social factors in any speech community. These studies, which fall under the first wave, focused on the "sociologist's primary categories" (Eckert, 2012, p. 88). That is, the first wave studies interpreted the social significance of variation on the basis of a general understanding of the categories that served to select and classify speakers rather than through direct knowledge of the speakers themselves and their communities (Eckert, 2012, p. 90).

2.4. Second Wave of Variation: Ethnographic Studies

According to Eckert (2006) ethnographic studies focus on small communities to discover the social categories that are locally salient. The second wave "began with the attribution of social agency to the use of vernacular as well as standard features and a focus on the vernacular as an expression of local or class identity" (Eckert, 2012, p. 91). Ethnographic studies offered insights into how speaking styles are inspired by local meanings (Eckert, 2006).

Eckert characterizes the second wave of variation as launched by Labov's (1961) quantitative ethnographic study of variation in Martha's Vineyard. Labov had noticed a phonetic shift in the position of the first vowel of the diphthongs (ay) and (aw), mostly among speakers between 30 and 60 years old. He recorded the speech of 69 participants from three predominant ethnic groups: 42 of English descent, 16 Portuguese, and 9 American Indian. Centralization of (ay) and (aw) was found to be high in speakers of English descent, particularly Chilmarkers age 30 to 45 who were described in Labov's study as "[Chilmarkers] are the most different, independent, the most stubborn defenders of their own way of living" (p. 29). On the other hand, the data showed that centralization among the youngest generation was not high, which Labov attributed to their desire to leave the island and find a job somewhere else. The Martha's Vineyard study also disclosed that centralization was found to be high among third- and forth-generation speakers of Portuguese descent, while it was little to nonexistent in the speech of speakers above 45 years old. Furthermore, a group of Indian descent, which was relatively small and homogenous, showed a great increase of centralization.

In addition to the linguistic environment of the variables (ay) and (aw) Labov posited that social forces affecting the life on the island prompted the sound change in the

language of the Vineyarders (Labov, 1972). Vineyarders who started to feel that summer visitors were taking over their island expressed their resistance through their language, specifically high centralization of (ay) and (aw; Labov, 1972).

The Martha's Vineyard study established fundamental methods for social dialect research in that it relied on eliciting spontaneous speech from members of speech communities. Drawing on the Martha's Vineyard study, and following the Labovian paradigm, Al-Khatib (1988) examined the linguistic and extralinguistic factors in the speech of two Arabic speaking groups in Jordan. Al-Khatib investigated six variables in the speech of two rural groups (Horrani and Fellahiin) in the city of Irbid in northern Jordan. Horrani people came to Irbid from neighboring areas decades previously, and the Fellahiin are Palestinians from the West Bank who have resided in Irbid since the Arab-Israeli Wars in 1948 and 1967. Al-Khatib was concerned with the effect of the city on a person's speech in addition to social meanings the phonological variables may suggest in the studied groups. The phonological variables he studied were (q), (ʤ), ($d^{ˤ}$), (θ), (k), and (a).

Al-Khatib interviewed 38 speakers from three age groups (younger, middle and older age groups), three educational groups, two sex groups (male and female), and two origins (Horani and Fellahiin). The study revealed that linguistic variation in the studied groups was rule-governed and systematic and correlated with education, age, sex, origin, and style. Educated speakers used more standard variables than those with little or no education, and older noneducated speakers were more devoted to the colloquial variants. The younger age group, in contrast, tended to standardize their speech. As for gender, men and women were both found to be innovative, with women more likely to use urban

variants and men using more standard variants. For example, men used the variant [q] of the variable (q), while women used the variant [ʔ] of the same variable. The [q] is considered SA while the [ʔ] is considered urban. Finally, the origin of the speakers was also found to correlate with linguistic variation. The Fallahiin, newcomers to the city, showed more of a willingness to adopt new variants and to use standard features than the conservative Horraniis, who were faithful to their colloquial features and perceived themselves as indigenous inhabitants of the city.

The findings also showed that the subjects used different styles, ranging from formal to informal, depending on context and interlocutor, similar to findings in Western communities (e.g., Labov, 1966; Milroy & Milroy, 1977; Trudgill, 1974.

2.5. Third Wave of Variation: Stylistic Perspective

In this wave, language is viewed as a practice that people use to situate themselves in a social landscape (Eckert, 2012). Speakers are seen as agents, not merely carriers of their dialects. Moreover, their linguistic practices are no longer determined by a social matrix. Rather, speakers are linked to a social matrix through consensual and mutual agreement in the Community of Practice they form or decide to join (Eckert, 2006). It is clear in this wave that speaker's linguistic practices are not defined by geographical, ethnic, and gender factors, but by the mutual practices of the communities the speaker wants to join.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), in their study of language and gender, introduced the framework "Community of Practice" (CofP) that was first developed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger as the basis of a social theory of learning (Meyerhoff, 2006). According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, a CofP is "a collection of people who

engage on an ongoing basis in some common endeavor: a bowling team, a book club, a friendship group, a crack house, a nuclear family, a church congregation" (Eckert, 2006, p. 683). Communities of practice may be characterized by mutual engagement, a jointly negotiated enterprise, or a shared repertoire.

In the following section, I will discuss Al-Wer's (2007) study as an example of the third wave. Al-Wer's study is relevant to my study in terms of first exploring the linguistic variables in communities of practice. In her study, she examined small communities of practice such as the high-ranking jobs community or large communities of practice such as the community of West Amman; second, she dealt with variation as a linguistic style where speakers construct social meanings based on their shared social practices; finally, she examined variation in a newly immerged community in West Amman.

Al-Wer's data came from her ongoing "Amman Project." In this research she examined the social meaning/s the variables carry for the inhabitants of West Amman. The study comprised sociolinguistic interviews that yielded 25 hours of recorded materials. Participants lived in West Amman (westernized area) and were from two dialect groups: Sult from the Jordanian side and Nablus from the Palestinian side. Participants (males and females) represented different age groups: old age group (grandparents), middle-aged group (parents), and younger age group (children: 12 to 18). Al-Wer examined the development of the speech of Ammanis within 3 generations from the two focused groups: Sult and Nablus. The first generation represented speakers who came to Amman as adults speaking the dialect or the variety of their original cities or villages from both sides: Jordanian and Palestinian. The second generations represent

speakers who came to Amman as babies or were the first native-born speakers. Al-Wer found that the speech of the first generation was developed as a result of dialect contact (Palestinian and Jordanian). She also noticed that, after comparing the data she collected in 1987 to 1997, there was an apparent linguistic change in the Jordanian side. She found that the /k/ affrication, for instance, that was reported in 1987 as [tʃ] in the speech of the first generation was not found in the data collected in 1997 for the same age group. In 10 years, the speech of the first generation, especially women, developed to adopt new variants. Women from the Jordanian side showed a tendency to use the variants [ʔ], [dˤ], and [t] instead of the native Jordanian variants [g], [ðˤ], and [θ], respectively. In contrast, men from the Palestinian side tended to use the local Jordanian variant [g] instead of their native variants [ʔ] or [k] due to the new political and national situation in Jordan.

To summarize, Al-Wer (2007) characterized the speech of the second generation as a "chaotic situation" (p. 73) with speakers mixing Palestinian and Jordanian. However, Al-Wer's data revealed that men and women in the studied groups did not show the same speech behavior. In both groups, Sult and Nablus, Palestinian women (urbanites) and Jordanian men were conservative. They retained their native variants and did not adopt the new variants that were the result of dialect contact in Amman. Palestinian women originally from Nablus (urban city in Palestine) were aware of the distinctiveness of their variety, specifically the [ʔ] variant, which they used to emphasize their modernity. Jordanian men, in contrast, preserved the native variant [g]. However, both Palestinian men and Jordanian women were more innovative. Palestinian men (Ruralities and Urbanites) abandoned [ʔ] and [k] in favor of [g], while Jordanian women favored the [ʔ] over the local [g].

The participants in Al-Wer's study adopted the new variants to meet social expectations: loyalty, toughness, modernity, and prestige (El Salman, 2005). Prestige for Jordanian women was represented through the [ʔ], [dˤ], and [t] variants they adopted to seem modern and urbanized like the Palestinian women, who were seen as liberal and open. These variants have become part of the Jordanian Arabic after the establishment of the state when the elite families from Syria and Palestine came to Jordan to be part of the Arab central government then (Al-Wer, 2007).

As for the third generation, those who were born in Amman, showed stable linguistic features. Speakers in this generation reflected their locality and a strong relation with Amman, the place where they were born. They reflected their identities as "Ammani" through the variants they used (e.g., [dˤ], [t], [ʒ], and to some extent [ʔ] for (dˤ), (θ), (dʒ), and (q), respectively).

The data from the third generation provide us with an example of a CofP. The linguistic style of Ammanis, particularly West Amman residents, reflects a sense of identification with the group and locality, according to Al-Wer. Examining the variants [g] and [ʔ] in the third generation language showed that although this group had inherited the gender and origin associations of the variants, new meanings had been redefined based on the social practices.

With reference to [g] verses [ʔ] for (g) amongst the male speakers, Al-Wer's study revealed that the variant was defined based on the behaviors of the participants. She found four groups or communities: Palestinian boys who used [ʔ] when they talk to each other, Jordanian boys who used [g], the [ʔ] users from both groups when talking to girls, and boys group (mixed group) who used [g] from both origins. Although the use of the

variants depended somewhat on the interlocutor, she found that [g] conveyed "toughness" or masculinity amongst male speakers in terms of their social behavior. Speakers expressed that when a male speaker used the [ʔ] variant in conflicts or fights he would be stigmatized and called "TanT" (Aunt from the German word *Tante*) because he is using a feminine feature. Al-Wer found that if the male speaker intended to be viewed as "tough" he shared the practice of the "male community" he wanted to join despite the fact that he belonged to the urban speaking group.

Another social meaning attached to the [g] variant in Amman is associated with the occupation of the speaker's parents, specifically the father. Those who work in high-ranking jobs in Jordan are users of the [g] variants because of the political situation that arose after the 1970 Civil War. As a result of this war, some nationalists demanded the "Jordanization" of the kingdom's administration. This resulted in appointing indigenous Jordanians to high-ranking positions who used their native Jordanian dialect. In fact, the [g] variant has started to establish a new norm in the dialect of Amman, affecting the speech of speakers and justifying their choice.

We can observe that children of those who served in the cabinet in Jordan used [g] as a way to reflect their attachment to the community of high-ranking positions that shared different social enterprises. The variant [g] among the individuals of this group was no longer associated with the origin; rather it reflected their localism and their affiliation to the CofP that emerged because of the parents' occupation.

In Amman, linguistic features strongly correlate with social factors such as gender, age, origin, and politics, but most importantly they reflect the speakers' desire to identify themselves with the community they form or want to join. This linguistic

behavior highlights the correlation between gender and variation. Based on Al-Wer's findings and in light of the third wave of variation studies, we can assert that Ammanis (both genders) situated themselves in groups voluntarily and developed practices (linguistic and nonlinguistic) that form their style in the community.

The Amman Project is very significant to the present study. It traces the linguistic change in the city in terms of the new practices of the Ammanis, specifically in West Amman. Al-Wer's findings explain why three generations in one area use different variants. The review of the sociolinguistic situation shows a wealth of studies of the variable (q). However, the variable (dˤ) has been understudied. My study will contribute to understanding Arabic sociolinguistics by focusing on (dˤ) and more importantly in a setting not investigated previously, the refugee camp in Jordan.

2.6. The (dˤ) Variable

A linguistic variable, as defined by Trudgill (2003), is "a linguistic unit, sometimes known as a sociolinguistic variable, initially developed by Labov in connection with his work in secular linguistics and variation theory, in order to be able to handle linguistic variation. Variables may be lexical and grammatical but are most often phonological" (p. 82). The phonological variable I chose in my study was the variable (dˤ).

In Arabic, the two phonemes /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ represent emphatics. The two sets of sounds that are classed as emphatics in Arabic are fricatives /sˤ/ and /ðˤ/ and stops /tˤ/ and /dˤ/. Arab grammarians referred to emphasis in articulatory terms as the "elevation of the back of the tongue (dorsum)" and "thickness and heaviness" (Wahba as cited in Abudalbuh, 2010). Emphatics are phonologically defined as pharyngealization, but they

also involve "a number of phonetic phenomena combine to create the auditory impression of "darkening" (Watson, 2002, p. 269).

In the present study the emphatic sound that is of my concern is /dˤ/. The phoneme /dˤ/ is a voiced velarized alveolar stop, while the phoneme /ðˤ/ is a voiced interdental emphatic fricative phoneme (Ryding, 2005). Some linguists have believed that these two emphatic consonants have merged in some Colloquial Arabic as Damascene, Cairene, and Ammani (Al-Khatib, 1988; Jassem, 1987; Watson, 2002) to be realized as [dˤ] or [ðˤ].

Al-Wer (2003) proposed an alternative analysis, suggesting that dialects in the Arab World are of two types: Type 1, the phoneme /dˤ/ represented in the urban centers, and Type 2, phoneme /ðˤ/ represented in the indigenous dialects of Jordan and many of the rural and Bedouin Levantine varieties. She states that "no spoken dialect has both sounds in its phonetic inventory, and no dialect, however isolated, 'preserves' vestigial forms of the distinction" (p. 22). Al-Wer explained that Type 1 dialects do not have the interdental sounds in their language system. She suggested a scenario of events in Type 1 dialect as illustrated in Table 1. (Table 1 and 2 are adapted form Al-Wer, 2003).

Al-Wer (2003) explained that Type 2 dialects have the interdental sounds /ðˤ/, /ð/ and /θ/ in their language system. Table 2 demonstrates a scenario she suggested for Type 2 dialects. Nevertheless, the realization of (dˤ) as [ðˤ] is documented in the speech of native speakers of Arabic, especially when speakers use the MSA variety (speaking and reading). Speakers such as Tunisians are still influenced by their local varieties. It is very common to hear /ðˤ/ for a word that has /dˤ/ in it such as /mufæwaðˤa:t/ for the actual

Table 1: Scenario of Events in Type 1 Dialect

Plain sounds	Outcomes	Phonetic property of the outcome
/θ/, [θ] ⇒ [t]	/t/	[t], contains lexical sets with etymological /θ/ and /t/.
/ð/, [ð] ⇒ [d]	/d/	[d], contains lexical sets with etymological /ð/ and /d/.
Emphatic sounds /ðˤ/, [ðˤ] ⇒ [dˤ]	/dˤ/	[dˤ], contains lexical sets with etymological /ðˤ/ and /dˤ/.

Table 2: Scenario of Events in Type 2 Dialect

Plain sounds	Outcomes	Phonetic property of the outcome
/θ/ [θ] , /t/ [t]	No merger	
/ð/ [ð] , /d/ [d]	No merger	
Emphatic sounds /dˤ/and /ðˤ/ ⇒ [ðˤ]	/ðˤ/	/ðˤ/, contains lexical sets with etymological /dˤ/ and ðˤ/. Merger in favour of interdental.

word /mufæwadˤaːt/: negotiations (A sample of the Tunisian reading of (dˤ); Al-Wer, 2003).

Al-Wer's proposal is consistent with Al-Khatib (1988), who posited that, in Jordanian Arabic, (dˤ) and (ðˤ) are realized as [ðˤ], particularly in the Fellahi, Horani, and Bedouin varieties. He reported that "the change from /D/ -> /Dh/ was phonetically unconditioned, i.e. the CA /D/ was replaced by /Dh/ in every possible position in a word without exception" (p. 184). This implies that the local variant [ðˤ] used to be dominant and favorable until the urban variant [dˤ] prevailed, which in turn suggests that change in the investigated contexts was due to extralinguistic factors not to linguistic factors (Al-Khatib,1988).

The significance of the variable (dˤ) in the Levant is that it can divide the spoken

varieties into urban and rural (Al-Khatib, 1988; Al-Wer, 1999; Kharyosh, 2003). This variable, as presented earlier, is realized as [dˤ] in the dialects spoken in urban centers such as Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, and Beirut, whereas it is realized as [ðˤ] in rural and Bedouin dialects, for instance, in Palestine and Jordan (Al-Khatib, 1988; Kharyosh, 2003). The users of the [ðˤ] are stigmatized because this variant identifies the speaker's background or origin as rural or Bedouin (Al-Kahtib, 1988; Al-Wer, 2003), whereas the users of [dˤ] are seen as urban. Although the variant [dˤ] is agreed upon on the literature as a standard and urban variant, which indicates that both sexes in the urban centers use it, it was found in some studies (Al-Khatib,1988; Al-Wer, 2007) that this variant also carries a particular social meaning, especially among women. Women in these two studies used [dˤ] to reflect modernity. Moreover, female participants favored prestigious variants in two cities in Jordan: Amman and Irbid. The favoring can be attributed to the feeling shared by Jordanians that urban variants are prestigious "and modern and are endowed with superior status" (Abdel-Jawad, 1986, p. 55).

In his studies, Al-Khatib (1988) asserted that women, and particularly young women in Irbid city, preferred [dˤ] of the variable (dˤ) over the local variant [ðˤ] due to their awareness of the social meanings the [dˤ] carries in their community. Female speakers, regardless of their origin, favored [dˤ] because it reflects modernity, effeminacy, and prestige. The awareness of these social meanings inspired female speakers to favor the urban and prestigious variant [dˤ] over the indigenous [ðˤ] variant.

Interestingly, with regard to the correlation between sex and the investigated variables, Al-Khatib's study revealed that the use of some standard variants by women can be seen as a tendency towards urbanization (the process of adopting urban variants

because of their social meanings) rather than standardization in which the speakers, regardless of their regional origin, use more Standard Arabic (Educated Arabic) forms in their speech (Al-Khatib, 1988, p. 22). Al-Khatib concluded that women tended to use the variant [dˤ] of the variable (dˤ) more than men, not to project their level of education, for instance, but to reflect their modernity through using urban variants. Both women and men in Al-Khatib's study were aware of the variants that were stigmatized in their communities, Horani and Fellahiin, which were reflected in the speech of middle and younger age groups. Thus, the young generation avoided using the variant [ðˤ] that exists in their varieties (rural variety) by following the innovation in the city.

Although women in Al-Kahtib's study showed a high tendency to use the urban variant [dˤ] as mentioned above, it is worth noting that the Fallahii age groups scored higher than the Horani age groups. A reasonable explanation is that the Fallahii groups were exposed to the urban variant [dˤ] for a longer period of time before they resided in Irbid City, Jordan (Al-Khatib, 1988).

The literature on the use of urban and rural variants leads us to conclude that women, and particularly young women in the Arab world, favor urban varieties because they are aware of the social meaning they reflect: prestige, modernity, and finesse. Al Wer (1999) reported that "for indigenous Jordanian women, urban Palestinian women represented 'finesse'; they appeared liberated and modern and better educated, and hence the way these women spoke also appeared attractive" (p. 41). Women in the described studies often abandon their native variant/s in favor of other local and urban variant/s in order to avoid ridicule and the stigma of being stereotyped as rural, project association with dominant social groups, and to feel socially secure (Abdel-Jawad, 1987).

The presented findings of Al-Khatib and Al-Wer studies concerning the ($d^{ʕ}$) variable draw our attention to the fact that young women in the context of Jordan have a tendency to use the urban variants in their speech due to social expectations. Women are expected to reflect softness and urbanization (El Salman, 2003) through the language they use. The same may be expected from the participants in the present study. One might argue that young women in the camp, experiencing similar social pressure would suppress the local variant [$ðˁ$] in order to be viewed as modern and feminine.

2.7. Motivation for the Present Study

Studies presented in the literature review provide evidence that women are often leaders in determining the local prestigious variants/varieties in their communities. Variants are perceived of as prestigious or nonprestigious based on social values that are associated with the social meanings the variants reflect. Moreover, certain variants enjoy considerable prestige while other variants carry stigma, often the variants that are associated with the social status of the individuals or the group.

Schmidt (1974) concluded that women showed a tendency to use the prestigious variant [ʔ] of the variable (q) over the standard variant [q]. The studies of Abdel-Jawad (1981), Al-Khatib (1988), and Al-Wer (2007) in the Jordanian context confirmed the results of Schmidt's study. Women in the Jordanian context were aware of the social significance of the variants they used in their communities, as were the women in the Damascus context. Daher (1998) showed that educated and noneducated women used the [ʔ] variant because they were aware of the social meaning that the variant carries in Damascus.

Drawing on the findings of the presented studies in addition to my observations of

the camp community, two questions arose concerning the linguistic behavior of young female speakers. It was of my concern to examine how language operates among the participants and to examine the use of the [ðˤ] variant among young women in the Baqaa camp:

1. To what extent do young women in the Baqaa camp preserve the indigenous variant [ðˤ] in their speech rather than favor the local and prestigious [dˤ] variant?
2. What are the social meanings that the variant [ðˤ] carries for young women (ages 18 to 30) in the Baqaa camp?

Hypotheses:

1. Young women in the Baqaa camp largely maintain the indigenous Palestinian variant [ðˤ]. This is the hypothesis for Research Question 1: to what extent do women preserve the variant?
2. Young women in the Baqaa camp interpret the variant [ðˤ] different from what was found in previous studies for women who live in the city (Abel-Jawad, 1981; Al-Khatib, 1988; Al-Wer, 2007). The young Baqaa camp women preserve the variant in their speech to assert their loyalty and belonging to the community they live in, to their origin and heritage.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the methods and procedures I used to collect the data for the present study as well the site and time of the fieldwork. After that, I will explain the criteria and the methods that were employed for selecting the participants. Brief information about the equipment that was used in the study will be presented in addition to information about the interviewer (myself), the interview, and data collection.

The methodology of the present study was motivated and influenced by the Labovian paradigm (Labov, 1963, 1966, 1972) and researchers in the Arab World context (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Al-Khatib, 1988; Al Wer, 2007; Amara, 2005; Bakir, 1986; Cotter, 2013; Daher, 1998; El Salman, 2003; Jassem, 1987; Sadiqi, 2003). The main goal of this study is to elicit natural and spontaneous speech of female speakers in the Baqaa camp, benefitting from the researcher's knowledge of the Jordanian context and the camp community.

3.2. Site and Time of the Fieldwork

This study relied on the "social network" approach (Milroy & Milroy, 1978) in which participants were contacted through a "friend of a friend" to obtain reliable data that reflect natural and spontaneous speech in the camp community. The study was conducted in the Baqaa Palestinian Refugee Camp in Jordan during the period of May

12th to June 6th, 2014. The researcher visited the site a week before the interviews were conducted to speak to friends and acquaintances in the camp, who then introduced the researcher to their families, friends, and neighbors. It is worth mentioning that in the camp community people trust outsiders if they are introduced by trustworthy friends.

Four interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants with another family member, neighbor, or a friend present. Two of the interviews took place in a training and local community development center. The director of the center introduced the researcher to young females, who volunteered in the center he administrates and were willing to participate in the present project.

3.3. Participants

The participants of the study were selected according to the following criteria: They had to be females of Palestinian origin, between the ages of 18 to 30, and living in the camp since birth.

Six female speakers between the ages of 20 and 28, who have lived in Baqaa camp since birth, participated in the study. The age group and the gender were deliberately selected in order to investigate the linguistic behavior of young female speakers to determine if it does or does not conform to what was found in other studies of female speech in the Jordan context. All six participants were of rural origin Fallahii and reported using Fallahii as their predominant dialect. Based on the researcher's observation and participants' self-report, none of the participants showed any speech or hearing impairment.

Although education was not part of the determining factors for selecting the sample, the researcher will draw on this factor when discussing the results in Chapter 4.

Three participants finished their higher education (university and /or college level), one participant is in her second year, and the other two participants could not pass the national exam "Tawjihi" after the 12th grade. See Table 3 for more details.

3.4. Equipment

The researcher used TASCAM DR-40 LINEAR PCM 96kHz/24-bit Digital Recorder. It records to SD and SDHC cards of up to 32 GB and has a pair of movable condenser microphone capsules mounted on its nose. It has both Overdub and Dual recording modes, the first enabling "sound-on-sound"-style recording, the second simultaneously capturing a variable -6 to -12 dB "safe copy" recording (adapted form the official website of TASCAM). A small clip microphone with windscreen was appropriately fixed to a participant's garment in order to record the conversation. Generally, the researcher did not encounter any technical difficulties or problems.

To address the sensitivity of using a recording device in the Arab World in general and in the conservative communities in particular, the researcher introduced the equipment to the participants before starting the interviews. They were informed of the necessity of recording the conversations in order to keep track of the topic mentioned in the conversation and to obtain linguistic data that are used in the present study.

The researcher maintained a friendly atmosphere throughout the interviews to reduce the impact of the recording device and to avoid the formality of speech that is associated with having a microphone and being interviewed.

Table 3: Distribution of Participants by Age, Level of Education, and Place

Participant	Age	Education Level	Place
Participant 1	25	High school	Home schooling (Baqaa)
Participant 2	26	Community college	Amman
Participant 3	20	University (in her second year)	Amman
Participant 4	24	High school	Ain Albasha
Participant 5	21	University	Amman
Participant 6	28	Community college	Amman

3.5. The Interviewer

The researcher is a Jordanian female of Palestinian origin. She is not a member of the camp community, but she has some distant relatives and friends who live there and she is about the same age of the participants. Thus, she is familiar with the community and the culture of the Baqaa camp. The researcher was introduced to participants by a friend, a friend-of-a-friend or a neighbor and conducted all the interviews herself. It is worth mentioning here that one of the participants, using her social networks, volunteered to find female speakers who would be willing to be interviewed. She and her mother made most of the appointments and did the necessary arrangements.

In their studies Abdel-Jawad (1981) and Al-Khatib (1988) encountered difficulties in interviewing some female speakers in Amman and Irbid owing to social constraints. Consequently, in each study, the researcher had to recruit a female to conduct the interviews with participants who refused to be interviewed by a male interviewer. As a female, the researcher did not encounter difficulties with respect to interviewing female

speakers. The only challenge the researcher encountered was to reassure the participants that the recorded materials would not be monitored or transferred to any governmental authority. The participants made it very clear from the beginning that they would participate if their recordings would be used for academic purposes only. The consent form specified that the recordings would only be used in this way.

The researcher collected the data by means of individual interviews and personal observations. The interviews were designed to prompt the participants' use of the ($d^{ϛ}$) variable in natural speech and in every-day casual settings. Therefore, the researcher created a friendly atmosphere before starting the interviews by thanking the participants for hosting her and for their help with the research. She explained to them the significance of her study as the first one to be done about the speech of refugees in the Baqaa Camp. This information made them open to the researcher, treating her as one of them, especially when they perceived her interest in their community and their lives and problems.

3.6. Interview and Data Collection

The interviews, ranging from 50 to 80 minutes in duration, consisted of three parts: demographic and personal information questions aiming at eliciting data on participants' biographical background; appropriate cultural topics to elicit the use of the ($d^{ϛ}$) variable in the speech of the participants; and finally language attitudes questions to examine the participants' attitudes toward the camp, themselves, and the variety they use in the Baqaa Camp.

In all parts of the interview, the questions were formulated in light of the cultural and social norms in the community under investigation. Thus, the researcher did not ask

questions that might cause any resentment or apprehension. She also informed the participants that they had the right not to answer any question that they felt uncomfortable answering, specifically when the course of the interview leads to some political opinions. The participants were cooperative and shared personal stories and experiences with the researcher, suggesting that they used a casual rather than careful or formal style of speech.

At the beginning of the interview, the researcher illuminated the purpose of the interview but did not tell the participants specifically about the sound under investigation. The researcher gave a generic explanation of the research project. The researcher carried out the interviews in a manner that helped participants overcome any apprehension caused by the recording device and to speak as they would with family members, friends, and neighbors. The researcher kept interruptions to a minimum so as to grant the participants the opportunity to elaborate and keep the flow of their speech and also for her to elicit as many tokens as possible of the variable under investigation.

In compliance with cultural norms, the researcher allowed the family members to be present while the participant was interviewed. It was beneficial to interview the participants in the presence of other family members or a friend to record informal speech as well as the actual use of the variable. Participants felt secure and comfortable talking about their opinions and sharing personal stories with the presence of a family member, given that the researcher is an outsider. Also, the camp community, to a certain degree, is conservative and suspicious of outsiders as is the case in other conservative areas in Jordan (Al-Khatib, 1988).

3.6.1. Structure of the Interview

The interview as mentioned earlier consisted of three parts: demographic and personal information, appropriate cultural topics, and attitudes toward the community and the language. The first part was designed to obtain general information about the participants. The researcher asked basic information questions such as name, age, level of educational, origin, and occupation to create a comfortable atmosphere and to prevent full attention to their language. For example, one of the questions was about memories they made at school and the personal experiences during that period of their lives.

These types of questions served to decrease their linguistic awareness and the desire to elevate their language. It also lowered their anxiety because the participants might have been sensitive about the researcher coming from an academic context and perhaps expected me to use Standard Arabic rather than dialect. They were aware that the researcher was a graduate student in an American university and she was conducting a study about language. It was important in this stage of the interview to avoid using any academic or educated language. It is very common in such situations that the interviewee tries to linguistically accommodate the interviewer and to reflect their language ability in communicating in a "high" level of language as they view it (Abdel-Jawad, 1981).

The second part of the interview, following the basic information questions, addressed three topics: physical punishment (beating up) at schools, Ramadan, and political strikes. All three topics were deliberately selected to elicit the variable in question. All the selected topics encompassed the following words that have the ($d^{ʕ}$) variable:

Physical punishment /ad^{ʕ}d^{ʕ}arb/

Ramdan	/ramadˤaːn/
Strikes	/ɪdˤdˤraːbæt/

The participants talked about the topics in detail and gave numerous examples to illustrate their ideas and to describe their personal preferences. They were fully engaged in the conversation; they spoke comfortably and spontaneously. The participants mostly held the floor in the conversation, while the researcher acted as the facilitator for keeping the conversation going.

The third part was designed to draw out answers that would reveal the participants' attitudes towards the community of the camp, themselves, and language. This kind of questions was determined by the particularity of the social fabric, that is, the basic structure of the community with all its customs and beliefs that tie the community of the camp. In addition to examining the use of the (dˤ) variable, it is also of my interest in the present study to describe how the social fabric has an apparent impact on the participants' attitudes toward themselves, which was manifested in their use of the language.

The third part of the interview was divided into three categories: first, participants' attitudes toward the camp; second, participants' attitudes toward themselves; and finally, participants' attitudes toward the local variety (in the camp) and the urban variety (in Amman).

Each part of the interview served a specific goal of the research project. Part 1 of the interview aimed at creating a friendly atmosphere to alleviate the participants' anxiety about being recorded. Part 2 questions were designed to elicit the spontaneous and casual use of the variable in question, while responses for Part 3 questions offered insights into

the social factors that influenced the speech of the participants.

3.7. Participant Observation

Participant observation is ”the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities” (Kawulich, 2005, p. 2). The researcher used participant observation to collect the qualitative data. The participant observation method permitted the researcher to utilize her familiarity with the community and its milieu to explain the participants' linguistic behavior. The purpose behind using this method was to avoid “suspect self-reporting” (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013). Al-Khatib (1988) had noted inaccurate self-reporting when participants in the study he conducted in Irbid city expressed their attitudes toward their variety and other varieties used in the city of Irbid. Al-Khatib and Alzoubi (2009) explain that “[b]acking up the results of the questionnaire with data coming from other sources, namely interviews and participant observation, gives the results more credibility and significance. Additionally, by so doing, the negative effect of some of the possible pitfalls of sociolinguistic research can be reduced” (p. 197).

3.8. Procedures

3.8.1. Quantitative Data

A 10-minute extract of each interview was selected for the quantitative analysis. The selected segment was taken from Part 2 where participants spoke about their personal experiences in reference to Ramadan, physical punishment in schools, and strike topics. As stated earlier, the topics discussed in this part of the interview were designed to trigger the use of words with the target variants [ðˤ] and [dˤ] of the (dˤ) variable.

To determine the frequency of the [ðˤ] variant, percentage scores were calculated according to the following statistical formula, commonly employed in variable studies (e.g., Abdel-Jawad, 1981,1986; Jassem, 1987; Labov, 1972a; Macaulay, 1977; Trudgill, 1974):

$$\text{Percentage score} = \frac{\text{Number of occurrences of a variant}}{\text{Total number of occurrences of a variable}} \times 100$$

To give one example, in the speech of participant 3, the variable (dˤ) had 62 tokens that were realized as the [ðˤ] variant 54 times, and the [dˤ] variant eight times. The percentage score for [ðˤ] and [g] would be 54/62 x 100 = 87%, and 8/100 x 100 = 12.3%, respectively.

The Audio Cutter software program was used to extract the 10-minute segments in each interview. The 10-minute segments were selected from Part 2 of the interview, which triggered tokens of the variable in question then, the segments were phonemically transcribed. Each individual audio file was transcribed in order to count the tokens in each audio file. Subsequently, the tokens for each participant were counted and then organized in an Excel spreadsheet.

All realizations of the (dˤ) variable were documented. The researcher listened to each token closely several times to categorize the obtained token as the [dˤ] variant or the [ðˤ] variant group. No other software was used to verify the realization of the tokens due to time constraints. No other realizations (e.g., [d] for (dˤ)) were found or obtained from the speech of the participants. It is worth mentioning here that the linguistic environment of the variable was not of concern in the present study because the main concern was to

determine the frequency of the (dˢ) variable in the speech of the participants in the segment selected as well as to examine the social factors that induced participants' linguistic choice. The number of tokens for each participant was entered into a Microsoft Excel 2011 spreadsheet.

3.8.2. Qualitative Data

Analyzing the data obtained in this part was used to give insights into the impact of social factors that influenced the participants' linguistic choice as well to uncover the social meanings the variant in question carries for the participants.

In order to answer the second research question, I analyzed the data obtained from the participants' responses to the questions in part 3: participants' attitudes toward the camp, toward themselves, and toward the local and the urban varieties. I used the transcript of each interview to answer the three-part attitudes question.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the analyses of the interviews in the present study. My study explores the linguistic behavior of young women in the camp to test the hypothesis that the variant [ðˤ] is highly frequent in the speech of young women in the Baqaa camp. The analysis of the data collected for the variable (dˤ) will be divided into two categories: quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative data are used to answer the first research question regarding the frequency of the variant [ðˤ] in the speech of the participants. The qualitative part will answer the second research question concerning the social meanings that the variant [ðˤ] carries for young women in the Baqaa camp by analyzing participants' attitudes that assisted me in uncovering these social meanings.

4.2. Quantitative Results

The quantitative results came from the second part of the interview (culture topics) in order to answer the first research question:

1. To what extent do young women in the Baqaa camp preserve the indigenous variant [ðˤ] in their speech?

A 10-minute extract from the second part of the interview was used to determine the frequency of the [ðˤ] and [dˤ] variants of the (dˤ) variable in the speech of six female

participants. Table 4 shows the frequencies and percentages of the variable as obtained from the participants. It is clear that the local [ðˤ] variant was highly used in the speech of the young female speakers. In the selected sample data, the (dˤ) variable occurred 277 times and was realized as [ðˤ] in 242 out of 277 cases by the speakers in the selected segment.

The data showed the linguistic behavior of the six participants that I interviewed was not uniform; that is to say, the standard/ urban variant [dˤ] occurred in the speech of five participants. Participant 1 exclusively used the [ðˤ] variant 100% in the 10-minute segment sample that I studied. All her (dˤ) was only realized as [ðˤ]. In contrast, participant 6 used the [ðˤ] variant 78% of the time in her speech and the [dˤ] variant 22%, which is the highest among the six participants.

These data illustrate that the local [ðˤ] variant is dominant in the speech of all six participants. In Table 5 I provide data from one of the target words speakers used in the studied segments. They used the word “Ramadan” a total of 89 times and realized it as

Table 4. Raw Frequencies and Percentages of the (dˤ) Variable by Participant

Subjects	[ðˤ]	[ðˤ] %	[dˤ]	[dˤ] %	Total # of tokens
Participant 1	43	100%	0	0%	43
Participant 2	41	95%	2	5%	43
Participant 3	54	87%	8	13%	62
Participant 4	25	83%	5	17%	30
Participant 5	41	82%	9	18%	50
Participant 6	38	78%	11	22%	49
	242	88%	35	12%	277

Table 5. Use of the (dˤ) Variant in ramadˤa:n, adˤdˤarb, ɪdˤdˤra:bæt

	ramadˤa:n		adˤdˤarb		ɪdˤdˤra:bæt	
Participants	[dˤ]	[ðˤ]	[dˤ]	[ðˤ]	[dˤ]	[ðˤ]
Participant 1	0	13	0	13	0	0
Participant 2	0	14	0	11	0	0
Participant 3	0	17	1	13	0	0
Participant 4	2	4	0	5	4	0
Participant 5	4	15	0	11	0	0
Participant 6	1	19	4	5	0	0
Total	7	82	5	58	4	0
Percentage	11%	89%	8%	92%	100%	0%

/ramaðˤa:n/ in 82 of the 89 instances. Similarly, the word /ɪdˤdˤra:bæt/was used 63 times, with the (dˤ) variable and was realized as [ðˤ] 58 times of the 63 instances.

It is worth mentioning here that the word /ɪdˤdˤra:bæt/ (strikes), which is one of the target words, was the least used in their speech because their answers to the question about strikes were short. It is possible that they avoided this topic because they were afraid to talk about political issues. Also, they all reported that they never participated in strikes because they believed that strikes do not lead to any positive results. Thus, in the 10-minute extracts that were selected for the study the word /ɪdˤdˤra:bæt/was mentioned four times in the speech of participant 4 as Table 5 shows.

In conclusion, the collected data demonstrate that the [ðˤ] variant is highly used in the speech of the six young female speakers from the Baqaa camp. Figure 1 shows that

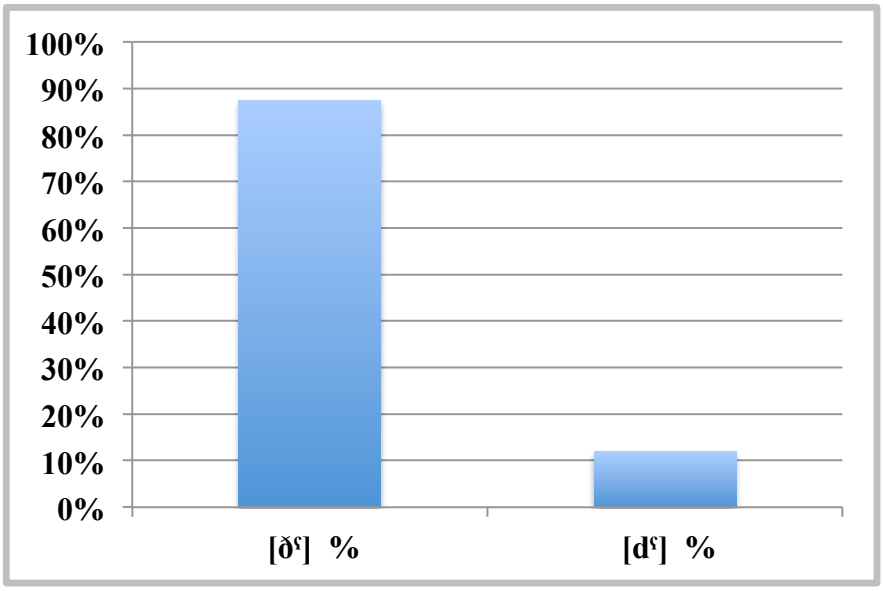

Figure 1. Use of the [dˤ] and [ðˤ] Variants in Percent for All Participants

participants used the [ðˤ] variant 88% of the time in their speech and the [dˤ] variant 12% of the time in the 10-minute extracts that I studied.

4.3. Qualitative Results

In order to uncover the social meanings the [ðˤ] variant carries for the six participants, the second part of the interview was designed to elicit answers with regard to their attitudes toward it. In addition, the attitudes data offer insights into the linguistic behavior of the female speakers in the camp in general and explains the disfavoring of the urban variant.

4.3.1. Attitudes Toward the Camp Community

This section presents results of investigating the participants' attitudes toward the camp community. I will analyze the data in order to obtain an understanding of the motivation for preserving the [ðˤ] variant among the six young female speakers, which, in turn, will help me tease out the social meanings of the variant in question.

Participants' responses were divided into two parts: first, their personal stance towards the place/camp and second, their stance toward the community. The researcher asked the questions below in order to elicit answers that would reflect their attitudes toward the camp and its community.

1- What do you think of Baqaa Camp?

2- Would you like to live somewhere else? Where? Why?

3- Do you like the community you live in? Why? Why not?

All participants except participant 2 expressed their predisposition to leave the camp and stated a variety of reasons: first, the density of the population. The camp hosts over 104,000 refugees on 1.4 km^2 where houses or "units" (Abdel-Jawad, 1981) are attached to each other. Second the lack of privacy. Participant 5 explained her desire for leaving the camp by saying "I would leave the camp because of privacy. We are always asked to lower our voices so people do not hear our private matters. I hope one day we will be able to buy a piece of land and build our own house and have a front and back yard where we can enjoy privacy." The third reason was the poor services they receive in the camp such as medical services, education, empowerment projects, and inadequate infrastructure such as roads and sewers (Tawil, 2006). They stated that the camp subsists on the UN aid and some governmental aid, which is insufficient to serve the huge population.

Finally, they added that the desire of leaving the camp is also due to the negative image of the camp among outsiders. For example, participant 4 reported, "People judge the entire camp population for what they hear about some cads and scoundrels. They do not hear that there are educated and respectful people in Baqaa; people think we are

savage." Participants reported that leaving the camp is a choice, but also it is determined by the social and economic status of the people. Some people left the camp because their economic situation improved. She added that those who stayed in the camp are two groups: group one includes people who could afford to leave the camp, but they chose to stay for family and social reasons, and group two includes those who could not afford leaving which represent the majority of the camp dwellers.

On the other hand, participant 2, who was aware of all the negatives that are attached to the camp, insisted that she would not leave the camp for any reason. She agreed that the camp is changing and life is getting harder socially and economically, but the idea of leaving the camp is not up for discussion: "Baqaa camp is home of memories and the only connection with the Palestinian cause," she explained.

Despite their negative feelings about the place, the six participants expressed positive attitudes toward the community. They discussed the social fabric of the camp and how they are extremely attached to the community and culture. They described the people of the camp as simple, humble, cooperative, helpful, and reliable. Participant 6 mentioned that "the social infrastructure is the main asset of the camp. People of the camp are supportive and social. They are always there for you."

Noticeably, all five participants who would like to leave the camp explained at different times during the interview that they like the camp for the symbolism it carries in the minds and the hearts of the camp dwellers. The camp, as all participants reported, is the link to the land that they had never seen. It is the embodiment of the Palestinian villages and cities, which their grandparents had to leave during the 1948 and 1967 Wars. All participants expressed their hope to change peoples' attitudes toward the camp and its

dwellers. To them, the camp should not be a source of embarrassment; instead they should be proud of being camp dwellers but at the same time, they all agreed that the people of the camp have to exert some effort to represent themselves well.

4.3.2. Attitudes Toward Themselves

In this part of the interview, I asked the participants to define and identify themselves with questions 4 and 5. Based on the answers about who they are and what they view as their identities, I will gain an understanding of the social dynamics that might influence linguistic behavior.

4- How do you identify yourself?

5- What does it mean to be a Palestinian?

Participants 1, 2, and 5 reported that they would identify themselves as Palestinian first, and holders of a Jordanian passport second. They insisted on showing their loyalty to their occupied land of Palestine and their loyalty to the Palestinian cause. Moreover, participants 1, 2, and 5 shared the belief that all Palestinian should be proud of their origin because Palestine, according to participant 5, is "the cradle of civilizations and religions."

The sentimental feelings participants 1, 2, and 5 expressed were not different from those of participants 3, 4, and 6. However, the latter identified themselves as Jordanians of Palestinian origin because they were born and raised in in the Baqaa camp in Jordan. They consider themselves Jordanians, but they also asserted that they are loyal to the Palestinian cause and will always remember their origin and roots.

Also, all participants reported that they preserve their identity by maintaining their culture, customs and traditions, and their dialect. In fact, participants explicitly stated

that preserving their dialect is one of the signals of their identity. Participant 5 said, "Changing your dialect maybe means nothing to others, but to me it is vital because it is the manifestation of my origin and identity. I am proud of my identity… I am proud of being Palestinian."

4.3.3. Attitudes Toward the Varieties

In this part of the interview, I asked six questions to lead to an examination of the participants' views toward the local and urban varieties, particularly how participants view their local variety in contrast to the urban variety. It also explores the social meanings the variant in question carries for the participants.

6- Do people in the camp speak differently from those in Amman? How? How do you know? Do you use this variety outside the camp?

7- What do you think about the speech of women in Amman? Will you speak like them? Why/why not?

8- Have your parents, friends, neighbors, husband, etc., corrected you if you use a different variety? Variants? Why? What do they say? Do you listen to them? Why?

9- Is it important to you to speak the variety that is used in the camp? Do you usually use your dialect outside the camp? Why?

10- Why do you use the variant [ðˤ] instead of [dˤ] in your speech?

In answering question 6, all participants reported that residents of the Baqaa camp speak differently from other neighboring areas, particularly Amman. The participants asserted that the majority of the camp residents use the camp variety in all domains.

The study participants reported that residents of the camp no longer use the

dialects of their grandparents or parents, but instead use a variety that projects their unique identity. Participant 5 reported, for example, that her parents' dialect is no longer a feature of her linguistic profile. Like most speakers in the camp, she reported dropping the [tʃ] for (k) in her speech. As she explained, "Commitment to the dialect you use is not only about your origin, it is about something you choose for yourself."

In reference to the Amman variety, all participants suggested that the difference between their variety and the one spoken in Amman is significant, especially the use of the variants [ʔ] or [g] for the variable (q). They explained that these two variants are the most salient ones that reflect any speaker's linguistic style.

All participants reported positive attitudes toward the urban variety "Madani"/Ammani. They articulated that Madani is prestigious and feminine, but, at the same time, five of six participants reported that they would not use it inside or outside their community. They prefer to use the variety of the camp to project their identity. Participants reported that the urban variety does not function very well for them especially when they intend to express their feelings. They see the variety they use as more useful and more expressive. Participants also pointed out that using the urban variety is not necessary to communicate well with urbanites since the varieties are mutually intelligible.

The participants also mentioned that they all experienced being corrected by their parents, and sometimes their siblings, whenever they use linguistic features of varieties other than their local dialect, and particularly the urban variety. Participant 6 reported that she is subject to correction or even ridicule when she uses the Madani variety. She explained that her family is originally from an urban area in Palestine where they used

Madani, but then shifted to the camp variety after they migrated to Jordan. Although she likes to use Madani from time to time, she expressed that she is committed to the camp variety. Although the participants experienced corrections, they elucidated that being corrected has not influenced their linguistic style.

The participants in the present study reported that it is important to them to use the variety of the camp. Preserving their language is a genuine reflection of their beliefs of who they are. Participants also reported that because of their positive attitudes toward their variety, they disapprove of any attempts to change it. Participants, except one (who is a descendent of a family that used to use the urban variety in Palestine before immigrating to Jordan previous to 1948 War), reported that they do not "respect" women who abandon their variety. They considered adapting their linguistic style as a "disrespectful and inadmissible" act. That is, those who change their dialect, as participant 5 stated, are "wearing a garment that belongs to others" or as participant 3 elucidated, "they pretend to have something they do not own." Participants' disfavor of any attempt to change the language indicates that they think of those women as insecure because they strive for social acceptance. Seeking for social acceptance is viewed negatively by the participants because "if you are changing your language, you are degrading yourself as well as admitting that you are inferior and the Ammanis are superior, which I do not recognize!," as participant 5 explained.

With reference to the use of the variants [ðˤ] and [dˤ], participants reported that these two variants are not as salient as [ʔ] or [g]. They mentioned these two specific variants in response to questions about the variety of the camp and if it is different from the Ammani one. The participants reported that the [ʔ] or [g] variants of (q) reflect the

origin (Madani or Fallahii and Bedouin) of the speaker and where the speaker lives and recognize them and notice them in their speech or the speech of the interlocutors.

All participants asserted that the use of [ðˤ] or [dˤ] can indicate the area and the group the speaker belongs to. They all identified the [ðˤ] as Fallahii and the [dˤ] as urban or Ammani. Participants identified the word /dˤa:jf/ "guest" as Madani and, to them, the word pronunciation reflects that the speaker is coming from a sophisticated community. Participants were all aware of the social significance of the variants. They reported that they preserve it in their speech because it is a feature of the variety they chose for themselves.

Participants were aware of their social status (low socioeconomic class). They also were aware of the fact that their variety is stigmatized because it is associated with their low social status, particularly in Amman. Consequently in different loci of the interview, they described the Ammani as "raqyeh," "sophisticated and classy," but they did not use the same word to describe themselves or their variety. However, they did not show a tendency to use the urban [dˤ], which is perceived as prestigious, to elevate their language or to project modernity. In the present study, participants insisted on using the language that represents them and reflects their identity. It is surprising that their social status reinforced their linguistic style and shaped their attitudes toward language change.

In conclusion, the comments by participants about their attitudes offered profound insights that helped tease out the social meanings that [ðˤ] variant carries for the six female speakers in the present study. The social meanings can be summarized as follows: the variant is a feature of the variety they speak in the camp, so participants constructed their own identity by preserving the linguistic practice that is used in the camp.

Maintaining the variant [ðˤ] reflects their loyalty and group membership; it also shows their attachment to Palestine, and finally the variant reflects their rejection of stigmatization that outsiders hold for the variety that they use in the camp.

In addition, the 88% the [ðˤ] variant scored in the speech of the six participants supported my hypothesis regarding the frequency of the variant. It is obvious that the [ðˤ] variant is dominant in the speech of young women in the Baqaa camp.

The quantitative and qualitative results will be discussed in detail in the following chapter in terms of the following social factors: gender, the CofP framework, language attitudes, and education.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

Even though many sociolinguistic studies have been done in Jordan, there has been scarcity of literature dealing with the variable (d^{ς}) in general and in the context of the refugee camps in particular. This study bridges the gap in the literature by addressing the social factors that correlate with the variation in the use of the (d^{ς}) variable in the context of one of the refugee camps in Jordan, Baqaa Camp. In addition, most of the sociolinguistic studies that were carried out in Jordan examined language variation in terms of the correlation between linguistic variables and macrosociological categories such as socioeconomic class, ethnicity, age, and sex. In the present study, I explore language variation as a linguistic practice constructed by members of a large CofP (Eckert & MacConnell-Ginet, 1999).

This chapter discusses the results arrived to through quantitative and qualitative analysis of the interviews in view of the relevant theoretical framework. In section 5.2, I discuss participants' linguistic performance and the role of the observer's paradox. In section 5.3, I discuss the results through a perspective of gender contrary to that which was often consulted in Arabic sociolinguistic studies where gender was treated as a parameter that accounts for women's speech in opposition to men speech. In section 5.4, I discuss the results through the construct of CofP, which Penelope Eckert and Sally

McConnell-Ginet (1999) have called upon in their work on language and gender. In section 5.5 I discuss the role language attitudes plays in shaping the linguistic choices of people in the camp and show how stigmatization played a role in preserving the variant in question. In addition, I demonstrate how level of education could be a contributing factor to using the more standardized variant [dˤ]. Finally, in section 5.6 I present a conclusion of the present study.

5.2. Preliminaries

Prior to starting the interviews I assumed that the participants would avoid using [ðˤ] a lot because I am an educated female, and the lack of [ðˤ] is often a style that is associated with educated people. However, I observed that participants' performance reflected their use of their local variety. This conforms to what I know about this community's usage of the variable, that they hardly use [dˤ] in their speech.

In the 10-minute segments I studied, participants' performance was consistent in spite of the fact that they were recorded. Often, participants in sociolinguistic studies feel some pressure in the presence of a recording device and an interviewer, which, in turn, might affect their linguistic performance. Labov used the term "Observer's Paradox" to describe this situation. It is the role of the interviewer to put in place strategies to overcome the Observer's Paradox in order to elicit spontaneous speech from the speakers who are participating in a study. However, "the way people talk when they are aware of being recorded can be sociolinguistically illuminating too" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 39). That is, the conscious performance can provide sociolinguists with further information about the participants and the communities they investigate, which could assist them to examine variation profoundly.

The participants in the present study showed consistent performances throughout the interviews. And, in the 10-minute extracts I studied, they produced the same variant [ðˤ] when they were discussing some of my questions with the friend or the family member who was present during the interview time. The consistency in producing the same language with me and with their family or friends indicates that they maintained the linguistic style they constructed as members of the camp community, which is considered a socially isolated context. Thus, the observer's paradox in my study did not curb eliciting the local variant in question; rather it provided a context in which the participants could demonstrate their unique identity through the local variant [ðˤ].

I also found that preserving the local variant in the speech of the six participants reflects language security. The quantitative data proved that participants used their local [ðˤ] in their speech. I also can say that, based on my observation and my knowledge of the Fellahi variety, they maintained their local variants including the variant [ðˤ] throughout the course of the interview and in the informal conversations before and after the interviews. This provides evidence that observer's paradox turned to a good use in the present study. Participants did not accommodate the interviewer although they were aware that I am an educated woman from Amman and I speak the urban variety. On the contrary, they were persistent in using the local variant, which implies that they consciously determined to project their social and linguistic identity as well as to demonstrate that they do not accept stigmatization or urbanization.

5.3.Gender

Gender is one of the primary social parameters usually used to explain linguistic behavior. In sociolinguistic studies female speakers, particularly the younger and middle-aged, were found to spearhead language innovation and change, mostly the urban variants (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Al-Khatib, 1988; El Wer, 1999; El Slamn, 2003; Labov, 1972). With reference to the variant [ðˤ], women in were found to abandon this variant for the urban variant [dˤ] (Al-Khatib, 1988; El Wer, 1999; Jassim, 1987). In the context of the present study one might expect to see this tendency among the young female speakers in the camp. The data in the present study, however, gave evidence that this expectation does not apply to the camp situation. The results showed that the percentage of the local variant [ðˤ] was higher than the urban/standard [dˤ] in the speech of the six participants although they had potentially high exposure to the urban variants during their period of study in Amman.

Although the speech of males was not directly examined in the present study, the female speakers reported that the [ðˤ] variant is dominant in the speech of male speakers in their milieu. Based on what they reported and on my observations, I assume that both male and female speakers preserve the variant in their speech. I presume here that what is linguistically favored by women (rural variety) in the camp community is also preferred by men. Thus, I presume that gender is not sufficient to explain the linguistic behavior of the six female participants.

The fact that the [ðˤ] variant scored 89% in the speech of the six participants suggests that females in the camp do not favor the urban variant [dˤ], but instead prefer to sound like the members of the camp community. In addition, it can be inferred that

women in the present study did not consciously endeavor to project their gender by using the variant [dˤ], as is the case with other female groups living in the cities of Amman and Irbid; rather they claimed that men used the same variant as they do.

Ultimately, I can claim that the six participants pushed the envelope of gender in their daily linguistic practice. That is, they believe that they were not distinguishing themselves from men in their community; rather they were distinguishing themselves from outsiders, particularly women in urban centers like Amman. By so doing, they emphasized the linguistic style they constructed in their CofP (the Baqaa camp) that they situated themselves in. At this stage of our discussion it is apparent that other factors may explain the variation in the use of the variable at hand.

5.4. Community of Practice

As it was established earlier, the speaker's gender was not sufficient to account for the variation in the linguistic behavior of the participants in the present study. Based on the participants report and my observations, both women and men preserve the local variants including the variant in question. This observation conforms to Haeri's (1996) findings in her study "Market of Cairo, Gender, Class and Education." Haeri found that gender and education are not the only factors that affect women's language choice. Sadiqi (2003a) also posited that gender is not the only factor that shapes the identity of any community, and it is not sufficient to explain the linguistic behavior of the female speakers. There are other factors that better explain the linguistic behavior of women beyond gender.

Community of Practice (Eckert & MacConnell-Ginet, 1999) has the power to explain variation in the camp community not based on fixed social categories (gender,

age, social class, etc.), but based on the linguistic practice where participants place themselves in the social landscape through a stylistic practice. The third wave of variation framework, which adopts CofP as a powerful tool to understand language variation at its most local level, takes the social meaning as primary and as essential feature of language (Eckert, 2013, p. 94). Therefore, it examines the variables that serve a social and/or stylistic purpose in addition to the linguistic variables in any community.

The construct of CofP was brought to sociolinguistics as a way to theorize language and gender (Eckert, 2006). However, the notion of CofP "could extend to global communities- such as academic field, religions or professions" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999, p. 189). Eckert (1998) discussed that diffused CofP indicates that face-to-face interactions do not link all the members and that their social practices are diffused; however, "day-to-day meaning-making through which people construct identities takes place at a more local level" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999, p. 189). Building on Eckert's discussion, I extended the notion of CofP to a larger community, such as the Baqaa Camp. The notion of communities of practice is categorized by mutual engagement and a jointly negotiated enterprise. Although the number of the participants is small and is not enough to draw generalizations, I propose that the Baqaa camp qualifies as a CofP because of its distinct characteristics.

Three of the participants know each other because they are from the same neighborhood, which indicates that they come together in direct personal contact. The personal contact shows that those three participants are engaged in mutual practices. At the same time, my knowledge of the studied community and my observations suggest that the other three participants share the same engagements. The participants live in the same

neighborhood (the camp is divided into different neighborhoods named after cities and villages in Palestine) where they interact with the same people, go shopping to the same market, and follow the community norms. Therefore, I can argue that the six participants' linguistic and nonlinguistic practices represent to some extent the norms in the camp, which indicates that the participants who are part of the camp community have a shared repertoire.

The Baqaa camp also qualifies as CofP because the unique social structure of the camp resembles the old villages the camp dwellers used to live in. To visitors of the camp, it might seem as if they are walking in small villages where people hold on to their traditions. Whole extended families either live together or at least in the same neighborhood (Abdel-Jawad, 1981). The day-to-day social life shapes the practices of the camp's community, which in turn has an impact on speaker's speech. Participants viewed language as one of numerous means to project the particularity of the camp. Participants' persistence of preserving the variety they use is seen as an attempt to establish a linguistic identity in addition to the social one.

The chosen community that is the camp community also qualifies to be considered a CofP because the young women in this study are part of a larger community that shares traditional, cultural, political, and linguistic practices. Participants in this CofP share a mutual commitment to the practices they are engaged with as well as a mutual understanding of themselves and the world around them (Eckert 2006, p. 683). My argument is based on participants' self-reports, especially that they answered in detail questions concerning schooling, Ramadan, physical punishment, and how they view themselves, in addition to the personal stories they shared. Their answers were almost

typical, especially those about the traditions and the norms in the Baqaa camp, which indicates that there is a mutual agreement on the practices they share. In positioning themselves as a group by sharing social practices with respect to their community and other communities, they gradually develop a style that projects their loyalty and group membership, including a linguistic style. The participants were no longer seen as carriers of the dialect; rather they were agents who decided to be engaged with social practices in a certain community. Participants reported that their speech is not similar to their parents and grandparents.

The six participants expressed their belonging to the camp community through the language they used. Preserving the local variant in their speech indicates that they were constructing a linguistic style that is associated with their milieu. The data suggest that, in the camp community, language was used as a practice along with other social practices the camp dwellers were engaged in. Participants constructed an identity by their participation in the social practices they chose for themselves.

The linguistic variable under investigation is employed to construct a linguistic style. Style in the first and second waves of variation was viewed as the speaker's way of adjusting to the linguistic situation the speaker encounters as well as to accommodate the interlocutor. In the CofP, style is viewed as a way to construct a social style or identity. Participants grew up in the camp without a choice just as any other member of the camp who was born there. The hardships they encounter living in the camp, along with their aspirations to have a better life in a better place, outside of the camp, influenced the people's linguistic behavior. They situated themselves in the camp community and based on this decision they shared the same values, traditions, and styles the camp community

approved of, including language.

Although the participants aspire to leave the camp for economical and service reasons, they reflected positive attitudes toward the community of the camp. They were aware of the stigma the camp and its population hold in the view of the outsiders. Stigma in the case of the camp has unified the community of the camp and given it the power to establish its own linguistic island.

The six participants' linguistic behavior conforms to what Eckert (2006) proposed: "the participants engage with these practices in virtue of their place in the CofP, and of the place of the CofP in the larger social order" (p. 683). This sort of placement identifies how the participants view themselves with respect to the world around them that in turn shaped their identity. Constructing an identity involves forming new social meanings. That is, the linguistic variants index a different meaning that is in line with the style the community members determined for themselves.

Also, stylistic practice involves a process of "bricolage" (Hebdige, as cited in Eckert & MacConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 308); that is, people use available resources in their communities and combine them to make something new. Participants created a particular style by combining the use of the [ðˢ] variant with their social behavior, which in turn initiated the creation of new social meanings of the variant. By so doing, the participants projected a style that is "rural," "preservative of traditions," "rebellious," or "different." The social meanings that variant carried for the participants are considered new because the variant is agreed upon on in the literature to be stigmatized and reflects the lack of education and modernity. The engagement in the social practices that participants committed to spurred the construction of their "personae". In other words, participants

integrated the social resources the camp community carries to construct new social meanings. Basically, they projected their persona through the linguistic style they created for themselves, which stemmed from their understanding of themselves and other communities.

Participants' understanding of themselves as female dwellers who hold to their cultural and social attachments provided the researcher with more insights that help me uncover the social meanings the variant carries for the participants, which in return characterizes the linguistic style they constructed in the camp. Identity and personae were used to explain the new social meanings the variant reflected among the six participants. Social meanings emerged through the use of the variant, which was found to be connected with the social behavior in the camp community. Data analysis proved that they are committed to their local variety, although they were aware that their variety is associated with stigma. By preserving the local variant [ðˤ], they engaged in an enterprise that involves using linguistic features to project themselves as a community that is distinguished from other communities around them. Therefore, they used [ðˤ] frequently inside and outside the camp according to their self-reports. The variant in the context of the camp is viewed as a positive force that may be in a conflict with standardized norms (the urban in Amman); however, it is utilized as a symbol by speakers to carry powerful social meanings and so is resistant to external pressures (Milroy, 1980, p. 20).

In summary, participants articulated that it is important to preserve the variant that projects their loyalty and membership to the community of the camp. This indicates that participants have a shared linguistic enterprise, and they think highly of their variety. Maintaining the [ðˤ] variant in the speech of the six participants indexes several social

meanings that are compatible with the persona they constructed in the community of the camp, as well as shows their commitment to the shared social and linguistic styles in the camp, which in return constructed their social identity as opposite to the Ammani identity.

5.5. Language Attitudes

The results in the present study suggest that participants were not suppressing their localism nor did they attempt to elevate their language; rather they favored their local variety, which indicates that they think highly of it.

Examining participants' attitudes assisted me in understanding the social influences that determined preserving the variant in their speech. Also, examining language attitudes provided me with better understanding of how language operates in this distinct community, which in turn helped me to unfold the social meanings the variant carries for the participants.

In the present study, participants showed positive attitudes toward the urban variety, Ammani. They assured me that the urban variety is beautiful and more feminine. They admitted that they like to hear it, but they asserted that they do not use it and will not adopt it whether in the camp community or with the urbanites.

Usually when a group of people exhibit positive attitudes toward a variety, this group is more likely to adopt this variety or at least some of its linguistic features (Al-Khatib, 1988). However, the data analysis did not reflect an inclination toward using the urban variety as far as [d^{ς}] is concerned. I can conclude here that participants' positive attitudes toward the urban variety are not conducive to adopting features from the urban variety.

The data showed that [dˤ] was scarcely used. In contrast, the participants used the variant [ðˤ] consistently in the selected segments that I studied. With reference to the effect of language attitudes, Abdel-Jawad (1987) found that the informants' attitudes had influenced their linguistic choices, "… the urban variants, especially [`] for [q], are concomitant with modernization, prestige, and civilization. The society views these variants as upper-class markers, associated with femininity, richness and wealth, appearance and respect" (p. 58). The six participants, however, did not exhibit any interest in the social meanings that are associated with the urban variety. They believed that giving up their variety would lead to loss of their identity as participant 2 stated, "we should preserve our variety because it projects our identity in the camp." The fact that they are camp dwellers, who are socially stigmatized, did not drive their linguistic behavior toward change; instead they were persistent in showing that they hold on to their local variety.

It is worth mentioning here that attitudes towards themselves and attitudes toward language are inseparable. The participants' responses to questions concerning their attitudes toward identity provided me with better understanding about the identity of the community, which in turn influences social and linguistic behavior. Participant 2 explained, "when I was studying in Amman, I used my variety even with Madani women because I did not want to forget who I am. I belong to the camp community and I should not be ashamed of that."

The commitment participants showed towards their variety reflects their positive attitudes toward what the camp symbolizes for them. The feeling of being connected to "home" (Palestine) and what home signifies for them formed their perception about

themselves in relation to the world around them, which was manifested evidently in maintaining the local [ðˤ] variant of the variable (dˤ) in their speech.

The positive attitudes the participants showed toward the urban variety did not lead to adopting the variant [dˤ]. The quantitative and qualitative data showed that they favored their local variant, which indicates that their attitudes toward their variety is sentimental because it is attached to the culture of the camp community that is associated with Palestine. I presume that their attitudes toward their local variety are instrumental in terms of viewing it as the variety for communication in the camp. Attitudes emerge as a powerful factor in shaping the language choice in the camp situation.

I explained earlier in the introduction chapter that refugee camps are socially stigmatized. This stigmatization has not led people to avoid the linguistic features that define the camp language. Rather, stigmatization might be a unifying factor that plays a role in preserving the social and linguistic characteristics of the camp. The results showed that the [ðˤ] variant is the most common variant in the speech of the six participants, which suggest that they were not avoiding stigmatization. Participants were aware of the social evaluation of the [ðˤ] variant in Jordan. The variant is stigmatized in Jordan and in the Levant in general (Al-Wer, 2003, p. 25) and is associated with masculinity, rurality, and lack of education. Nevertheless the participants were not reluctant in using their local variant; on the contrary, the data showed that they were consistent in using the [ðˤ] variant over the standard-urban one. The data also suggest that the use of the [ðˤ] variant is systematic and made by a conscious decision.

Although participants were aware of the significance of the [dˤ] variant in Jordan (urban and reflect modernity), they preserved the local variant [ðˤ]. Their linguistic

behavior did not conform to other studies that investigated the (dˤ) variable in Irbid and Damascus (Al-Khatib, 1988; Jassem, 1987). Young women in both studies adopted the urban variants over their local variants. They also adapted their speech because they were aware of the social meanings the variants represent in their communities. Women in these studies responded to the social pressure.

Despite the social pressure women encountered in the Arab World and in Jordan in particular, the six female participants did not tend to yield to this pressure. On the contrary, they appeared to be more loyal to their group membership. I can conclude that women in the present study were not passive; instead they played an instrumental role in rejecting stigmatization and social pressure by preserving the variant they favored the most and by constituting their own linguistic style. Stigmatization, contrary to results found in other studies (Al-Khatib, 1988; Amara, 2005; Daher, 1998), played a positive role in preserving the local variant than replacing it.

At another level, educated women in Jordan were reported to favor urban variants more than Modern Standard Arabic variants, which were favored by men. These differences between men and women reflect social pressure and expectations. Women are expected to reflect softness and urbanization, while men are expected to show manliness and power (El Salman, 2003). The data, however, showed that this sort of pressure did not have a noticeable impact on their speech. They showed a strong tendency toward the [ðˤ] variant, and they did not exhibit the same tendency toward the [dˤ] variant, which is known to them as urban and standard.

On the other hand, the [dˤ] variant percentage (12%) in the speech of the six participants raises the question about whether the [dˤ] variant is used as standard or as

urban. I shall admit that it is difficult to prove whether the 12% the [dˤ] scored is a direct result of education. However, drawing on the participants answers and the percentages, I assume that the [dˤ] variant was used in their speech because of the influence of their education level not because they tend to use the urban variant. The strong refusal participants showed toward using the urban variants as well their sentimental attachment to their Arabic and Islamic heritage provides evidence for the 12% the [dˤ] variant scored in the speech of the participants. I presume that the use of the standard [dˤ] variant is due to the significance of the (dˤ) variable in the Arabic language and Islamic culture. Knowing that about this variable assisted me to assume that education might be a reasonable explanation why the [dˤ] variant occurred 12% in the 10-minute extracts.

On the other hand, the 88% the [ðˤ] variant scored in the participants' speech indicates that they adhered to their local dialect despite their strong sentiment for the MSA. Although education was not examined exhaustively in the present study, participants' answers and the quantitative results implied that participants' level of education had an impact on their linguistic behavior.

5.6. Conclusion

This study has investigated the use of the [ðˤ] variant of the (dˤ) variable in the speech of female participants in the Baqaa camp. The data revealed that the participants favored the local [ðˤ] variant over the urban-standard variant [dˤ], which indicates that they preserved the variant in their community.

Their positive attitudes toward the urban variety have not impacted their linguistic choice. The female participants found the urban variety feminine and prestigious; however, they reported that they hold on to their local variety because it a manifestation

of their loyalty to the community of the camp.

In the present study, the six participants' linguistic behavior does not conform to what was found in other Arabic sociolinguistics. They deliberately refused to yield to the social expectations that women often encounter in the Arab World. They did not show a tendency to urbanize their language although they were aware of the social meanings that are associated with the urban variety. They preserved their local variant to reject stigma that is associated with their variety. Thus, the occurrences of the [dˤ] in their speech might be related to their level of education not their tendency to sound urban.

Finally, the preservation of the [ðˤ] variant was found to be associated with the linguistic style the participants constructed in their community. Their linguistic style was formed based on the social practices they were engaged with in the camp community, which, in turn, has shaped their social and linguistic identity.

APPENDIX

THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The following questions were formulated to elicit the selected variable and to serve the purpose of the present study.

A.1. Part 1: Demographic and Personal Information

1- What is your name?

2- Where were you born?

3- How old are you?

4- How long have you lived in the Baqaa camp?

5- Where was your mother born?

6- Where was your father born?

7- Which village did you, your father, mother, grandparents and husband, come from?

8- Where is this village located?

9- Do you own your place of residence? When was it built?

10- Which part of the camp have you lived in?

11- What is your father's occupation?

12- Are you married? How many children do you have? What do you and your husband do for a living?

A.1.1 Schooling

13- What level of education have you reached? How old were you when you finished or left school/university?

14- Which school/university are/were you enrolled in? Where is it located?

15- How many hours a day do you normally study? How else do you pass your time?

16- What activities do/did you do after school?

17- Tell me please about some of the sweet memories you still bear in -, mind from your school days?

18- Were all your friends in school from the same neighborhood?

19- Where were/are your classmates/friends from?

20- What are your hobbies?

21- Do you follow a sport team? What is your favorite team?

A.2. Part 2: General Topics

22- Why Ramadan is a special month? What do people do to celebrate it?

23- Do you agree or disagree with school punishment procedures? Why/why not?

24- Were there any political strikes in the camp?

A.3. Part 3: Community and Linguistic Attitudes

25- Group A:

26- What do you think of Baqaa Camp?

27- Would you like to live somewhere else? Where? Why?

28- Do you like the community you live in? Why? Why not?

Group B:

29- How do you identify yourself?

30- What does it mean to be a Palestinian?

Group C:

31- Do people in the camp speak differently from those in Amman? How ? how do you know? Give examples.

32- What do you think about the speech of women in Amman? Will you speak like them? Why/ why not?

33- Do all people in the camp speak the same dialect? What is it? How do you know?

34- Have your parents, friends, neighbors, husband etc. corrected you if use different variety? Variants? Why? What do they say? Do you listen to them? Why?

35- Is it important to you to speak the variety that is used in the clan/camp?

36- Do you usually use your dialect outside the camp?

37- Why do you use the variant ðˤ instead of dˤin your speech?

38- Do you think the dialect of your parents is dying? Why? Why not?

39- Is the variety you use dying in your local community?

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